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THE

Abolition of Slavery

IN

CUBA AND PORTO RICO,

BY

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ABOLITIONISTS.

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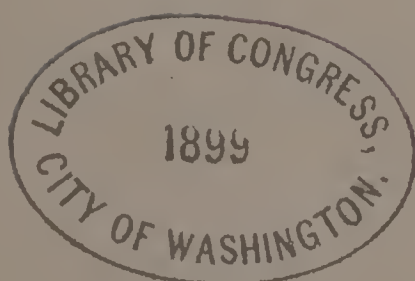
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THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

IN

CUBA AND PORTO RICO.

“Undo the heavy burdens let the
oppressed go free break every yoke.”
—*Is.* 58, 6.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident,
that all men are created equal, that they
are endowed by their Creator with certain
inalienable rights; that among these, are
life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”
—*Dec. of Independence.*

The final overthrow of the pro-slavery rebellion having at last convinced its supporters of the approaching death of the accursed institution all over the world, several and different projects have been submitted to the Spanish people, in order to save the pirate ship from total wreck.

But, as all these projectors lack consistency and are trying to recommend their plans, presenting before the public facts utterly false or else exaggerated, we think it is our duty, as well as our right, not only as men but as true patriots, to unmask and baffle the machinations of a faction, who, under misrepresentations, expect to mislead public opinion and gain it into the service of their selfish schemes. And so the more, when, according to their own declarations, the main purpose of those projects is to secure the interests of the slaveholders, and conjointly to rivet the colonial fetters, linking forever the destinies of Cuba and Porto Rico to their ignorant metropolis!

As, of old, these shoddy-abolitionists begin by proclaiming themselves the true friends of Progress and Liberty, and merely led by their love to the negro in their opposition to the radical measures advocated by relentless abolitionism. And, although the hackneyed arguments concerning the innate qualities of the negro race have been already answered by illustrious champions of the cause in both continents, nevertheless, we think proper to set forth some facts pertaining to Cuba and Porto Rico, to counteract these pretensions. First—

THE SUPPOSED LAZINESS OF THE BLACK MAN.

Whereas, moral considerations are of no weight at all for a class of men whose main motive is the material loss or profit attached to any measure, we propose, therefore, to destroy all their arguments by, what they call, the invincible logic of numbers. Now, we find, in the last official statistics of both islands, an immense number of free negroes and mulattoes recorded as architects, masons, shoemakers, tailors, cartmen, licensed vendors, machinists, silversmiths, barbers, painters, musicians, phleboto-mists, dentists, milliners, hat-weavers, etc., etc. In short, all the mechanical and domestic labors of the land are almost entirely performed by colored people; and if these people are not found engaged in other pursuits, it is only because an absurd prejudice forbids them. (NOTE 1.) And this prejudice is the natural result of slavery, which, having for its basis the degradation of labor, causes most of the whites, rich or poor, belonging to the dominant class, to despise every honest occupation, and to prefer idleness rather than to see themselves confounded with the working class. And this, as all the facts we shall state in the course of our assertions, is verified by the general statistics. (NOTE 2.) Now, again: Were it true what pro-slavery men gratuitously assume with regard to the reluctance of the black man to work when free of all brutal compulsion, we could not register, as it is actually the case in Cuba and Porto Rico, a large number of freeholders, farmers, merchants, etc. (NOTE 3.) Neither would it be possible to account for the great number of letters of emancipation obtained, not only by freedmen in favor of their nearest relatives, but also by the *coartados*, who, besides paying a daily

salary to their masters, have to provide for their own living, and even by the destitute slaves, who merely have the holidays to work on their own account. (NOTE 4.) If they are lazy and vagabond, how can they afford those heavy sums of money, which represent long weary years of industry, economy, and self-control? This fact alone is the most evident proof that negroes are like any other class of men: they work, and work hard, when they are paid. The very concoctors of these so-called anti-slavery projects own that in Porto Rico, where there are 40,000 slaves against 240,000 free colored laborers, *the freedmen work as faithfully as the slaves*. Now, again: If, in Porto Rico, the increase of free laborers has produced an increase in all the natural productions of her soil, (NOTE 5,) and among her free population, white and colored, a greater love of labor, and consequently a larger sum of morality, why not expect the same effects from the total abolition of slavery in both islands, at once? It is true, that the Spanish reformers, sticking to the old system of abuse and monopoly, and who merely aim at its perpetuation through the endorsement of their nefarious plans by the American people, attribute these results, not to the wholesome influence of this partial freedom, but to the anti-economical institution of the *Libreta Reglamentaria*. (NOTE 6.) It is not our intention now to discuss the evils inherent in this organization of labor, but it answers our purpose to observe here that the conduct of the free colored people of Cuba and Porto Rico speaks highly in their favor, so much the more, if we take into consideration the disadvantages and little inducements which the working classes find there, because of the bad political and economical system that has always distinguished the Spanish colonial *regime*, the existing degrading institutions of Slavery and *Libreta Reglamentaria*, the injustice and meanness observed in the question of wages, the vicissitudes to which they are continually subjected on account of the bad faith used in all transactions among whites and blacks, and the rascalities they have to suffer from the shopkeepers and dealers, from whom they have to buy on credit or sell at a discount for cash or merchandise their miserable wages (3 American shillings a day) in order to provide for all their needs.

Furthermore, the projectors profess, in support of their repre-

sentations, *to know of some towns where, during certain months of the year, no freedman can be persuaded to do anything.* Let them give us the names of those towns; but let us observe, at the same time, that their real existence will not prove anything against the character of the negroes, so long as it shall not be proved that those negroes are a charge to the community. We will not leave this topic without declaring, that were the laziness of the Black race a positive and undeniable fact, even so, there is no right to keep the Blacks in bondage, and to compel them to work to satisfy the vices and covetousness of another people who proclaim themselves as the representatives of a superior race, a superiority, by the way, contrary to the law of God, and rejected by the eternal principles of universal conscience. But such is not the case with the free negroes in Cuba and Porto Rico, whatever may be said on the contrary by the apologists of the slave system. (NOTE 7.) Nobody is bound to be wealthy, and still less to make others wealthy by the sweat of his own face. Moreover, the exertions of individuals are governed by their moral and intellectual condition. A civilized people works more than a barbarous one, the former having to provide for necessities of a higher nature unknown to the latter, who are indifferent to other than the material wants of animal life. Let us then restore to the unjustly oppressed Black man the full enjoyment of all his natural rights, let us respect and treat him as a *man*, and his needs will increase in quantity and quality, and he will work without compulsion to provide for them. The peasants and workingmen of Europe are by no means more industrious than the negroes. If in Northern Europe, they work more constantly throughout the year, it is due to the scantiness of the wages paid over there, and to the force of circumstances that compels them to do it, as the only means of avoiding starvation. In Southern Europe, on the contrary, where man has more facilities of getting the necessaries of life, we notice among the lower classes, the same defects we criticise so severely in the negro race. And again, let us ask the negro-haters of Cuba and elsewhere, if they believe that any class of men subjected to the cancerous influence of systematic degradation, and living amidst a society, the moral elements of which are human slavery, cockpits, bull-fights, royal lotteries, military despotism, public chain-

gangs, public lashes, public executions, that disgusting compound of paganism and judaism and christianity called Romanism, tell us, we say, if any class of men placed in this calamitous condition, and above all, subjected, as the colored people of Cuba and Porto Rico actually are, to the scorn and persecution of an oppressive class, deserve to be accused and condemned by their own executioners, because of their lack of faith in the principles of Labor, Justice, and Virtue?

And again, the negroes cannot justly be called idle and lazy by a class of men who openly declare that the real wealth of the Spanish colonies absolutely depend on the negroes, and that without their labor Cuba and Porto Rico are doomed to ruin. Were it true what those men so cynically represent, we think it would be more reasonable to call ignorant, idle, lazy, and even barbarous, a set of people, whose hatred of labor goes to the point of setting at defiance, as in the Southern States, the noble and just indignation of a powerful and christian community, and of lighting the torches of a civil war, unparalleled in the world, with the avowed and only purpose of perpetuating slavery, or as in Cuba and Porto Rico, where, hopeless of maintaining alive the hell-bred institution, they are trying to retard its death by every means; pre-ëminent among others, that of the fallacious "free-born children system." We repeat it; if the epithets idle, lazy, and ignorant are to be applied, to none with more justice, than to those false christian whites, who plead in favor of slavery to live upon the labor of the unhappy Blacks, and who, just now, and only as a measure of self-interest and as a policy of national convenience, are asking of Her Gracious Majesty to grant some reforms to her faithful colonies, among others, letting them rob the negro for an indefinite period of time. All the projects laid out before the public have no other interpretation.

VULGAR EXAGGERATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE DEGRADATION OF THE COLORED PEOPLE.

The colored people of Cuba and Porto Rico cannot in justice be called utterly degraded and unfit to make a good use of their freedom and of all the rights without which, Liberty is an illusion. If we take into consideration the fatal influence of

Slavery, we will impartially acknowledge, if not the superiority, at least, the equality between the free colored people and the poor whites of America. In Porto Rico, Dubois, a mulatto, is the only man who, in connivance with the famous General Ducoudray-Holstein, has dared to defy the ferocity of the Spanish oppressors, paying with his head for his gallantry and boldness. In Cuba, as in the United States, the negroes have plotted several times to accomplish their independence, while the whites of that island, who have no political rights whatever, whose few civil franchises are at the mercy of the Spanish Governors, who are bound to read, write, and speak what the Governor allows them to do, who are even deprived of the most sacred right of man, that of worshiping his Creator according to the inmost dictates of his conscience, have humbly submitted to the yoke of a despotic and ignorant metropolis, and suffered their different leaders to be murdered without a murmur. The history of Hayti speaks also volumes in favor of the negro race, and the name of Toussaint L'Ouverture will be handed down to the coming generations among the greatest and most well-deserving benefactors of the human family.—In St. Domingo, we cannot extol highly enough the courage and patriotism exhibited by its mixed blood people to their treacherous invaders. But these feats of abnegation and bold attempts on the part of the negroes to revindicate their trodden rights are not viewed from our standpoint by the partisans of Slavery. They look at them as mere exhibitions of the seditious and barbarous propensities of the blacks; and, furthermore, as the natural result of hatred and incompatibility between both races. We have no space to prove historically the falsity of their charges to those who endeavor to misrepresent so grossly the character of the blacks; thus, we will examine now

THEIR COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND AMERICAN NEGRO LAWS.

The planners of the projects resort also to the oft repeated parallel between the Spanish laws and those of the Southern States with regard to the negro, in order to recommend them to the favor of the public, with false assurances of a not far distant

disappearance of Slavery. Nobody ever denied the advantages the negro finds in the Spanish Code ; but we most emphatically allege that those laws have done nothing in favor of the abolition of Slavery. Laws are entirely inefficient when, as in the present case, they have against them the ideas, habits, and prejudices of the people where they exist. The extolled Laws of the Indies were also very good (if it is possible to have good laws under a government the fundamental basis of which is the irresponsibility of the crown, the doctrine of the divine right—the right of force, in short, the constant trampling under foot of all human rights), but all their goodness did not prevent the bloody and rapid extermination of the ill-fated aboriginals of America. Conquerors, adventurers, *encomenderos*, and all the dregs of society that came from Europe to satiate their sanguinary instincts and their lust of gold in the New World, baffled jointly all the decrees and *cédulas* promulgated by the monarchs in favor of their American subjects. Finally, how can the Abolitionists be expected to have faith and hope in the Spanish laws, when it is known by everybody that, under the despotic regime that has always ruled in Spanish America, these as well as all other laws have been but a dead letter ? Can measures clearer and more conclusive be decreed than the kidnapping law and the royal cedula of 1817 ? (NOTE 8) And, in spite of them, has not the infamous trade in human flesh subsisted and prospered under the protection of the Spanish flag ? What benefit does Cuba or Humanity derive from the observance of insignificant laws, if at the same time the evil is encouraged, and its total uprooting prevented on the selfish and scandalous ground that Justice will ruin the vampires of the negro race ?

Again. We do not deny the *relative goodness* of the Spanish laws (although General Prim's *Bando de Porto Rico* is as barbarous as the most outrageous laws of the Southern States), but its absolute efficiency. And what we advance is so certain, that the very authors of one of the Projects admit that the negroes of the lately revolted States *are a great deal more civilized than the slaves of Cuba*, notwithstanding the advantages of so kind a legislation. We add to this declaration, that were it possible to make public all the data existing in the offices of the *Sindicos*, the Christian world would be horrified at such an

enormous sum of cruelties committed against that poor and defenceless class, whose labor is the source of our celebrated blood-stained riches.

NECESSITY OF NEGRO-SLAVES FOR THE TILLING OF TROPICAL LANDS.

It also alleged, as a strong reason why African slavery ought not to be touched in Cuba and Porto Rico, that the negro-slave is the only laborer fit to work under the burning sun of the tropics. We could answer to this absurdity simply by asking those who proffer it, Who were those who cultivated the lands of Tunis and Morocco—lands hotter and more uninhabitable for the white race than the mild and fertile campaigns of Cuba and Porto Rico? But, we will limit ourselves to lay out before the public, some undeniable facts relating to those islands. And these facts are so notorious, so common in our countries, that we cannot impute the statements set forth by the pro slavery party to ignorance, but to bad faith.

There are a great many farms in Cuba and Porto Rico, where all the work is performed by European and native whites, and we declare that their condition is far superior to that of the plantations cultivated only by slaves. We have also heard from Cuban planters that they prefer five licensed soldiers or Canadian farmers rather than twenty negro slaves. That these assertions are supported by practical facts, it is efficiently proved by the official statistics. Thus, we have in the colonies a great number of whites devoted to the hard labor of mines, railroads, and the cultivation of the colonial fruits, sugar, tobacco and coffee not excepted. (NOTE 9.) There are also at present in Cuba 34,050 Chinese, according to the census of 1862, devoted to the tilling of the land; and authorized planters have declared them to be superior and preferable to the negroes, under a good and intelligent management. This opinion is corroborated by the continual importations they are making of those laborers into the island of Cuba, and by the high prices obtained at the market for the transfer of their contracts.

In addition, we will state, that the *color* of the present Spanish slaves has not always been the original cause to keep them in bondage, as it is to-day pretended by the supporters of slavery

in Cuba and Porto Rico, but simply the ignorance, cruelty and lust of gold of the slave traders. In effect : as soon as the aboriginals were exterminated, permission was granted to the colonists to import negro slaves from Castile, and as the number sent from the kingdom did not satisfy the covetousness of the Spanish adventurers, they were allowed to bring them directly from the coasts of Africa. But, as the only object of the traders was to get the human merchandize as easily and cheaply as possible, they did not limit their excursions to the African regions determined by the monarch ; but they left them for the Mediterranean shores, where they could ransom, at a low price, in Africa as well as in Spain and the Baleares Islands, captives of every race and color, that is to say, *whites, blacks, mulattoes, Moors*, etc. This fact is conclusively proved by the existence of Royal Cédulas issued in May 11th, 1526, February 25th, 1530, December 19th, 1531, September 28th, 1532, and May 1st, 1543, to put an end to such excesses and disorders, not (and notice the motive) because of that course being an outrage against humanity, but lest the presence of such slaves in the colonies would endanger the material interests of the monarchy.

And last but not the least, among the different documents we have had sight of, there exists a memorial made to her Majesty's government in 1847, by a committee of the Most Illustrious Ayuntamiento of Havana, in which they do not limit themselves to negroes when they ask the maintenance of slavery, but they in definite terms declare : “ *We must not delude ourselves; the sugar plantations, as they are, cannot subsist without slaves. The advantage does not depend on their being NEGROES, as some believe or seem to believe ; WHITES or INDIANS it would be the same. The advantage lies in their being SLAVES, and that with a capital of \$300 or \$400, payable by installments, a sum of labor can be obtained, which paid to free men would cost \$15 or \$20, payable regularly, per month. The true advantage is this, and the day it disappears, those colossal sugar plantations where the owner is at the same time agriculturist, manufacturer and forwarder, will disappear.*” Finally, if the tropical regions are the natural abode of the negroes, and the dreadful grave of the whites, how can they account for the statistical fact so cynically presented by some of the projectors, as a recommendation

of their scheme? They say, that *while from three to four thousand children are born annually, the deaths during the same period amount to five per cent. of the entire slave population, or from eighteen to nineteen thousand.* This fact, based on official data, proves beyond doubt that the plan of the Cuban slaveholders is a bloody sarcasm thrown into the face of the civilized world, because they propose to set at liberty the victims of their barbarism after a period of twenty years; that is to say, when they all will have already succumbed under the lash of their murderous masters. This horrible sum of mortality can be attributed only to the barbarous system practiced on the Spanish plantations. And these abolitionists of a new stamp ask us to accept a plan established on such basis! We denounce it before all the Christian nations, and appeal to them to resent this new outrage, and to unite in a common effort to obtain from Spain the immediate, unconditional abolition of slavery in Cuba and Porto Rico.

INTELLECTUAL INFERIORITY OF THE BLACK RACE.

It is asserted, too, as a strong reason for keeping the negroes in bondage, or at least for retaining them as long as possible in a servile condition, that they are inferior to the whites in intelligence. This argument, so long used by pro-slavery men, North and South, in defence of the peculiar institution, and now against negro suffrage, is rather hazardous in the mouths of Cuban slaveholders. Indeed they ought to bear in mind that the first Cuban poet, *Plácido*, was a mulatto; the first dentists, *Blake* and *Coopat*, mulattoes; the first musician, *Joseito White*, a mulatto; one of the best young ladies' academies at present existing at Havana, personally conducted by an accomplished negro woman, *Maria de Serra*, to whom many a lady of high rank owes her social and intellectual accomplishments. The only Cuban who has distinguished herself as an actor on foreign stages is *Dacoste*, a mulatto; *Covarrubias*, the great comedian and lively writer, for many years the Star of the Cuban Stage, was also a mulatto; *Francisco Manzano*, the poet, was a negro slave. The prompter of the theatre of St. John, of Porto Rico is *Bartolo Antique*, a negro, so intelligent that the dramatic

companies that come from Spain prefer him to their own prompters. The engineer of the only steamboat in Porto Rico, is a colored man. The only artist worthy to be mentioned, in the same island, is the religious painter, *Jose Campeche*, a mulatto. These are only a few known and acknowledged as colored, but should we search the sources of every family in Cuba and Porto Rico, we are sure that, more or less, we could trace the African blood in the greatest number of our most illustrious citizens. (NOTE 10.)

Some answer to this remarkable fact that they are exceptions to the general rule. No doubt of it; as La Luz Caballero, Varela, Heredia, and others, are exceptions among the whites of Cuba. But, we repeat it, there is no reason whatever that justifies the absurd prejudice which declares as utterly inferior in intelligence a branch of the great human family who, in spite of universal scorn, hatred, and persecution, have been able to produce such noble specimens as Juan Latino, Toussaint L'Ouverture, ex-President J. J. Roberts of Liberia, Dr. Calvo, ex-President of the United States of Colombia, Placido, Bishop Payne, Dr. Delany, J. P. Boyer, Fred. Douglass, Pres. Gefrard and Benson, Henry Highland Garnett, Sella Martin, Sir Ed. Jordan, W. H. Simpson, F. Manzano, J. Campeche, White, the Dumasses, etc., etc. Let them have a fair chance, and peaceably enjoy all their natural and imprescriptible rights. And as for us, who have so unjustly and barbarously depressed them, let us aid them in the honorable task of their moral and intellectual regeneration, and we shall see how many Dumasses, L'Ouvertures, and Douglasses will arise among them.

Before closing this passage, let us make a simple remark to that set of Catholics, whose hatred of the negro induces them to present the blacks not only as an inferior race, but as an accursed one, and even deprived of the qualities common to mankind. These absurdities are very improper on their part, since the Roman Church, far above all suspicion in this matter, has not only invested negroes with all the holy dignities, but it has even canonized them. Among others, we may mention the names of San Benito Palermo, and San Canuto. Furthermore, the Catholic Church encourages the invocation of the Holy Virgin by the names of Our Lady of Monserrat, and Our Lady

of Regla, &c., and in their images these are represented with a black face.

Now if the negro race is, as they maintain, an accursed one, condemned by the Almighty to live in perpetual ignorance, and proper only to be the slave of a sister race, how is it that the Roman Church, notwithstanding its infallibility, has chosen some of its children as intermediaries between man and God?

After all, the better reply we could give against a supposition rejected by the eternal principles of Justice and Equality, and without any other support than the covetousness and the impiety of some traffickers, would be the words used by the learned Abbot J. H. Michon, in his valuable book on "The Renovation of the Church." "The most atrocious blasphemy," he says, "that a human intellect can produce, would be to say that Providence has condemned peoples to eternal error, and that the ignorance and superstition that prevail among the masses are the fatal law of the human race, so long as the successive life will last on this globe. Should this idea have the slightest appearance of truth, its legitimate consequence would be the negation of God. Who would believe in a God deprived of wisdom? Who would bow before a neglectful Providence, that abandons the human family to the fire of their prejudices, as the heartless mother who permits her own children to die without the consolation of her caresses? We must believe in the intellectual redemption of humanity as in the very God. One single intelligence, which would ask of God the food of the supernatural life, and to which he would not answer by satisfying that thirst, that aspiration towards light, would be an inexplicable fact, would involve a cruel accusation against the Infinite Wisdom and the Infinite Goodness!"

FEARS OF INSURRECTION.

With regard to the terrorism they want to spread among the masses, making them believe that barbarism and ferocity are the most notable characteristics of the negro race, after its passion for idleness and profligacy, let us state that the conduct of the Spanish Government is its most conclusive denial. When African slavery existed in the Peninsula, it was the invariable usage

to appoint a *colored man* as *mayoral* of the negroes and mulattoes, free, and slaves, of each district ; and if afterwards, when slavery was imported by the Spaniards into America, that usage was set aside, the Spanish Governors always called the negroes to the defence of the Government, whenever they thought the authority of the monarch to be in danger. (NOTE 11.) And not long ago, we have seen in the very Island of Cuba, the musket put into the hands of the negro and taken from those of the white, without any of the dreadful troubles anticipated by the enemies of the negroes having taken place. Consequently we affirm, that there is no reason whatever to be afraid of the negroes if we do justice to them. They cannot set forth a single fact against our assertion. We do not know of any enslaved people waging war against their former masters whenever the slaves have been set at liberty and respected and treated as *men*. Negroes are not exceptions to this rule of history. The uprising of the blacks in St. Domingo is fully justified by the infamous conduct of the French planters, and the outrageous pretensions of the first Napoleon to restore slavery in the Colony. Thus, if in Cuba, instead of performing an act of reparation, we persist in treating the blacks as beasts of burden, robbing them of the fruit of their labor, making them unhappy and degraded by system, we ought not to complain of their conduct, should they follow the example of their Haytian brothers. It will be our fault and not theirs ; and we must not censure what we so proudly extol in the white race—its spirit of liberty and independence.

Finally, we will say that to apply the epithet of barbarous and bloodthirsty to the negroes is the height of impudence in men so destitute of moral sense, who persist in arguing, (in bad faith of course,) against the solemn verdict of conscience, the blessings of slavery, the necessity of maintaining a society having for its foundation monopoly, privilege, and extortion, who traffic with their own blood, as there are a great many among the slave dealers who sell in bondage their own children ; who forget in their blind lust of gold that the majority of them drank the liquor of life at the breast of a negro woman, because their white mothers would rather neglect their most sacred obligations than to spoil their carnal beauty ; who express their horror at the cruelties of Dahomey, but who, besides the nameless atroci-

ties of the African trade, count among their sports the hunting parties of runaway slaves, for which they encourage a breed of peculiar blood-hounds. (NOTE 12.)

BAD FAITH AND SECRET VIEWS OF THE SO-CALLED SPANISH
ABOLITIONISTS.

After the examination of the arguments set forth by the authors of the so-called projects for the extinction of slavery in Cuba and Porto Rico, we have to call the attention of the American people to the bad faith of their concoctors, whose only purpose is to secure to Spain the undisturbed possession of her colonies, securing for themselves as long as possible the golden fruits of their system of plundering and monopoly. These men, knowing that slavery cannot subsist after the collapse of the Southern Rebellion, and fearing another *irrepressible conflict*, accompanied by the still more feared American intervention, have determined to cut short all apprehensions by planning these projects to be recommended to the national and foreign Governments, as it has been proved, under false pretences. Servile tools of the Spanish despotism, they endeavor first of all to excite a barbarous feeling of hatred and antipathy against the Americans, and to that end they insert in the Spanish edition of one of the pamphlets published to that effect, a paragraph which they carefully omit from the English edition. The paragraph runs thus :

“On the closing of the war in this country (the United States), the Northern army alone numbered 500,000 whites and 250,000 blacks, *i. e.*, 750,000, of which more than 400,000 have been already released. Several speculators from Philadelphia, Washington, and this city (New York), hasten to enlist them for Mexico as auxiliary troops to Juarez, and these same speculators can also recruit among the 150,000 men belonging to the disbanded armies of the South. It is very possible that some of these expeditions may find their way to Cuba ; but they will be easily vanquished, should the Island have her entire army, her provincial militia, well constituted, and being alive to the public spirit of her inhabitants, to whom we must endeavor to demonstrate that it is

a question of life or death to them, because the expeditionists, the dregs of all nations and desperadoes accustomed to the pillage and destruction of the Southern States, will not go to sympathize with the creoles, whose fate is of no consequence to them, but to satisfy their lust of gold and plunder; but this will not happen should this Government openly aid and abet the expeditions with the pretext that it is necessary to extend to Cuba the abolition of slavery, a principle for which it has apparently waged, during four years, a war of extermination. But this nation would violate the most sacred rights, if we deprive them of the only pretext that can serve to justify their interested views, and would even risk a war with all Europe, which undoubtedly would join Spain; as it is of general interest, to prevent the United States take possession of the Island of Cuba, the key of the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific, only by force, and in violation of every right. To secure this, it is absolutely necessary that the Spanish Government take preparatory measures for the extinction of slavery, by which she will protect the interests of the slaveholders, will retain possession of the Island, and will satisfy the exigencies of public opinion. However, this question is in itself very delicate and can destroy the Island of Cuba if an inconvenient decree is issued, with but little premeditation.” (NOTE 13.)

We certainly know that such ideas will not find echo among the enlightened portion of the Old World; but it will deserve, however, the serious consideration of the American people if it is borne in mind that in connection with this published pamphlet circulated in Cuba with the consent of Gen. Dulce, Mr. Ulloa, a man who has been for many years at the head of the Department for colonial affairs, espoused the same ideas as the only ones capable of securing to Spain the alliance and protection of all the European powers against the American policy; and that but a few days ago Louis Napoleon endeavored to conclude a tripartite alliance between England, France and Spain, for the mutual protection of Mexico, Cuba and Canada against the future policy of the American government.

The American people must hereafter study and solve all its questions of national and foreign policy under this point of view; that monarchical Europe is the natural enemy of democratic

America, whose wonderful progress it looks at with envy and fear. Moreover, it is time for the American nation to understand, that it is her right and her duty to assume at once her noble post of natural protector of popular institutions all over the world, and that her interests, as well as those of humanity at large, urgently require the withdrawal from the American continent of the last remnants of European despotism.

The victories of the Northern Army and the triumphal restoration of the Union, have produced in Spain the creation of the Spanish Anti-Slavery Society. Its purpose is the abolition of the slave-trade and the gradual emancipation of the present slaves. We submit to all honest and conscientious men to decide if the honorable title of abolitionists can be given to any class of men who postpone the Justice and Right of the oppressed to the purse and usurpation of the oppressors. But, joined to this party, there is another party in Spain which counts among its associates all the slave-traders and the old foggy politicians who profess to be *Spaniards before everything*, and who are resolved to oppose any measure contrary to their course of robberies and depredations. This party has already established a newspaper at Madrid, and appointed a committee of slave-traders to plead before Her Majesty in behalf of the Cuban *high property* (Slavery), and to expound to her, at the same time, the evils and dangers which will befall the richest possession of the Crown, if unnecessary and undemanded reforms are introduced in the social, economical and political condition of the colony. The Committee above mentioned, is also well provided with money sent from Cuba, as they are convinced that gold conquers everything at the corrupted court of Spain. (NOTE 14).

It is true, that of late, some Senators and deputies have raised their voices upon this question, that some influential statesmen are sincerely in favor of the abolition of slavery ; but are we to trust the real or apparent wishes of an insignificant minority or even the declarations of the Spanish Government? By no means. Is it possible to believe that a nation who denies to her white colonial subjects all political rights, allowing merely to them a shadow of civil franchises, will in good faith accept the unavoidable consequences of the victories of the Federal armies? Is a government worthy of confidence that nearly

fifty years ago, extorted from the English Treasury, under false pretences, the sum of \$2,000,000 ; that instead of fulfilling its sacred pledges and enforcing the national laws, has punished the highest crime known to mankind by bestowing upon the culprits the greatest honors under the gift of the Crown ; that has not only favored and fomented the slave-trade by every means in its power, but is an actual accomplice of the same crime, since it receives the 6 per cent. of the value of every slave sold in its Colonies. It established long ago the revenue of 4 per cent. upon all judiciary fees to promote white immigration ; and until to-day, after pocketing the money, the promise remains to be fulfilled ; it having always hindered all plans for that class of immigration, and only aided and abetted the so-called Yucatecan and Chinese colonizations, which in reality, are Slavery carried on with Yucatan and China, and the horrors and crimes connected with which demand the intervention of the civilized world as urgently as the very African slave-trade. (NOTE 15).

We must insist, before closing this long review, on reminding the American people that the projects of the Spanish Abolitionists are but a measure of policy against the irrepressible necessity of the annexation of Cuba to the United States. We have the same opinion with regard to the just established Spanish "Anti-slavery Society." And, although we cheerfully receive any project favorable to the glorious cause of Universal Emancipation, we can look at this late awakening of the Spanish nation but as a new phase of her nefarious policy in all matters concerning her richest colony. In effect, the abolition of slavery being an accomplished fact in the United States, they see the uselessness of contending for its perpetuity on the neighboring shores of Cuba and Porto Rico, and, consequently, the necessity of trying to get as many advantages as possible by a compromise, that will insure them against a joint action on the part of England and the United States for the enforcement of the treaties, the natural consequence of which will be to precipitate the natural course of events. They know also, it is already useless to struggle against the triumphal march of American principles, and they pretend to prevent all danger by promises of future emancipation. This policy is for Spain a two edged sword, which will protect her against the dreadful Yankees, and at the

same time will put in her hands a terrible weapon against the disaffected Cubans. She will also win with this timely measure the partizanship of the colored people, to enable her, in case of any revolutionary attempt, to carry out her old threatening of making of Cuba *an African territory*, which means, according to her own declarations, to put the knife and the torch in the hands of the slavish population rather than submit to the just claims of the Cuban people. But the experience of the past must teach the American people not to trust any promise coming from that quarter; and to Cuba and Porto Rico the peremptory necessity of acting for themselves, and of looking somewhere else for the peaceful and most expedient solution of their most momentous questions. Any other course is pregnant with of serious complications for a not far distant future. Wisdom advises it as a guaranty of peace and security for the future of both countries. The conduct of Cuba during the late rebellion has cost many millions and many lives to the American Union; while its occupancy by the Spaniards has proved most dangerous to the popular institutions of America. The Spanish attacks against the Republic of St. Domingo, and their earnestness to promote and favor the overthrowing of the Republican Government in Mexico, leave no doubt whatever of the machiavelism and community of aims which exists between Spain and the rest of Europe with regard to American affairs. The interests of this continent, as well as those of humanity at large, demand, at once the expulsion from this side of the Atlantic of those Christian Arabs.

FINAL REMARKS.

We know that, in spite of our strong protests, the pro-slavery men will succeed in retarding for a while the overthrow of their hellish fabric, to the shame of mankind and the most profound harm to the moral and material interests of Cuba and Porto Rico; but, at last, it must fall. It has to give way before the open and unanimous opposition of all the great movements, the ideas and the reforms of our age. What are the miserable and mean interests of immoral traffickers worth before the great idea of modern times? To restrain the power, to subdivide and

counterbalance it, to create the responsibility, so as to make it to be used with justice and to shelter the individual against the abuses of the authority, to substitute law for arbitrariness, to protect the weak against the strong, to give to the injured parties the means of obtaining reparation, to proclaim and support the inviolability of property and every one's rights; in short, to guarantee freedom, such is the noble but difficult task imposed by God upon Humanity. Such is, under different names, the great problem which has been occupying the minds of all those who are interested in the welfare and true progress of the human family.

And will the pro-slavery men still struggle against the spirit of the age and the comminatory decision of the whole civilized world? Will they persist in drawing upon us the scorn, the indignation, and the horror of men? England, France, Denmark, all the Spanish-American Republics,—and, thank God! the United States also, have abolished slavery. Only Spain and Brazil stand indifferent before such a glorious spectacle, and wish to maintain themselves on a level with Turkey, Asia, and unhappy Africa! But the moral laws are as irresistible as the physical ones; and they will in vain exhaust all the shrewdness of politics united to the frantic impulses of crime. To triumph now, they would have to restore the days of darkness and barbarism. What does Christianity say to the impious who try to find in it a support for their nefarious doctrines? Very little is it known by those who do not see in it the most fervent propagator of our civilization, and who attribute to it another object than that of uniting all men in an universal brotherhood, to make man feel towards man an inexpressible love, to despise all earthly distinctions, to raise up the fallen, to reunite all in one common effort to be elevated! And when everything in the Christian world tends to establish among the people the ties of brotherhood without exception of colors or of races, do the pro-slavery men think that the sanction of slavery, which they believe to find in the Bible, is admissible, perverting, as they do, the sense of the texts? Who is bold enough, impious enough, to raise a banner beside that of Humanity, and to declare himself in war against the just providence of God, against the eternal principles of Nature and the divine destinies of Mankind?

Our remarks are particularly addressed to the people of Cuba and Porto Rico, since we neither trust nor have the remotest hope in the Spanish Government, in spite of all its protests and official declarations. The slavery question is one of those they have to solve for themselves, and the sooner the better, for their own moral, social, and material welfare. If they persist to close their eyes to the signs of the times, if they prefer gold and crime to peace and justice, the fault will be theirs if, to arrive at the promised Land of Freedom and Liberty, they have to pass through another Red Sea, like Hayti or the great American Union.

But, as African Slavery is not the question of an interest and accountability strictly local, Humanity is equally interested in its abolition. We thus believe, that all the civilized nations are called upon to share in its total extermination from the surface of the earth, under any name or form it may present itself. We should, in order to make their intervention efficient, before every thing, open an universal subscription, the proceeds of which would be invested, in the most convenient way, for the realization of such a sublime project (NOTE 16). To appeal to all interested in the welfare and progress of all the peoples of the earth, and to offer prizes and honors to the authors of the best essays and systems tending to the uprising and civilization of the whole African race. To found establishments along the coast of Africa to enlighten the tribes of those regions, who still live in the deepest ignorance of the different branches of our industries, arts and sciences. To take the children of their petty kings and give to them a thorough education, as was done in the days of Don Enrique, of Portugal, the advantages of such policy being manifest in the history of those tribes in their earlier relations with the Christian monarchs (NOTE 17). Thus, they will, in the process of time, become acquainted with the essential principles of our civilization, and relations of a thriving and peaceful commerce will be established between the civilized world and savage Africa. This is the only means (and not the system of cruising, always inefficient and easy to be baffled in countries of so extensive coasts as Africa and America) to put an end to the slave trade and to bring the unhappy children of sunny Africa to a new life of progress, and cause them to be

indebted to us for their moral, intellectual, and political emancipation. Reason and Justice impose this duty upon the civilized nations, and they will be accountable to History and to God for the fulfillment of it. The modern world will not abandon the noble work which the Saviour committed to the future generations from the Cross. It will prove that the noble Martyr of Love, Justice, and Liberty did not shed his blood in vain on the Golgotha.



NOTES.

(1.)

There are in Cuba, according to the last official statistical data : 16 apparitors, 2 architects, 1 armorer, 273 bakers, 670 barbers,* 444 blacksmiths, 255 butchers, 27 cabinet-makers, 5,846 carpenters, 985 cartmen, 3,941 cigar-manufacturers (198 females), 40 clerks, 817 coachmen, 10 comb-makers, 53 confectioners, 240 coopers, 13 copper-smiths, 1 court-officer, 6,962 day-laborers, 1 dentist, 37 distillers, 119 drivers, 15 dyers, 83 engineers, 14 farriers, 16 fence-makers, 124 fishmongers, 26 founders, 2 hat-makers, 36,871 (females) housekeeping-work, 48,159 husbandmen, 11 lace-makers, 7 last-makers, 1 lithographer, 4,890 masons, 59 milliners, 22 midwives, 360 muleteers, 618 musicians, 18 navy-employees, 12 nurses, 71 overseers, 15 ox-drivers, 41 pack saddlers, 188 painters, 333 potters, 1,007 railroad employees, 130 saddlers, 24 sail-makers, 305 sawyers, 5,893 seamstresses, 4 sextons, 3,101 shoemakers, 151 silversmiths, 62 stevedores, 98 stone-cutters, 1,521 (females) straw-hat weavers, 5 sugar-manufacturers, 31 tanners, 1,923 tailors, 17 tile-makers, 95 tinmen, 742 truckmen, 3 turners, 290 licensed venders, 24 licensed venders of domestic fruits, 8,818 washer-women, 72 water-carriers, 12 weavers.†

(2.)

The criminal statistics stands as follows : 2,158 whites against 656 free colored people ; there being among the former 41 cases of kidnapping, 5 attempts to it, and 26 cases of cruelty toward the slaves.

* The barbers are generally also phlebotomists and dentists.

† According to our personal observations, and to private information of a trustworthy character on Cuban and Porto Rican affairs, we can declare that these figures are not reliable in many a classification. Besides that, we must observe that on account of the existing prejudices of races, no colored person appears in the list of physicians, lawyers, apothecaries, etc., when in reality they abound.

(3.)

There are in Cuba, according to the statistics : 16 administrators of their own property, 1,610 managers of plantations, 306 merchants, 2,548 planters, 230 estate holders, 732 cattle dealers, 180 manufacturers ; and in Porto Rico there are 4,563 estate holders, 321 merchants, 6 manufacturers.

(4.)

From 1851 to 1862, 23,765 mulattoes and negroes have got their letters of enfranchisement. We have not found data to ascertain the number of *courtaciones* obtained by the slaves during the same period. It is true that some of them obtained their freedom by the kindness of their masters, but these are the least. And the fact is, after all, a proof in favor of the negro's character, whose good qualities have to be rewarded by the master bestowing upon him just what they assert to be the anti-natural condition of the negro and a curse for him. Were it so, we do not know what to wonder at the most—either the supposed innate abjectness of the black man, or the odd sense of justice of his oppressors.

(5.)

POPULATION OF PORTO RICO.

	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.
1857	236,591	193,059	44,308
1860	300,430	241,015	41,736*

PRODUCTION.

	1857.	1860.	1861.
Brandy, hhds.....	1,480½	1,254	.....
Cotton, lbs.....	282,656	292,696	.....
Sugar, do	86,391,546	116,015,181	131,035 471
Coffee, do	11,139,691	15,924,524	.....
Hides, do	604,666	672,472	.....
Cattle, heads.....	8,071	5,524	.....
Molasses, hhds.....	27,456¾	43,445¾	.....
Tobacco, lbs.....	4,028,921	2,360,498	7,753,821

* According to our private information there are not, in Porto Rico, over 35,000 slaves.

POPULATION OF CUBA.

	Whites.	Free colored.	Slaves.
1846	428,723	146,246	323,772
1862.....	764,750	221,417	368,550

PRODUCTIONS.*

	1846.	1862.	
Sugar, @.....	17,729,589	41,418,444	.....
Coffee, do.....	1,470,754	741,542	.....
Tobacco, loads.....	168,094	305,626	.....
Corn, bushels.....	942,491	2,179,724 $\frac{3}{8}$	.....
Rice, @.....	929,858	1,747,474	.....
Wax do.....	32,326 $\frac{1}{2}$	68,420	.....

(6.)

The “*Libreta Reglamentaria*” is a book in which an account of the earnings of the poor class is kept by their employers, who certify, also, about their character. Idle-time must appear in the book by comparing dates, and idleness is punishable by law.

* The figures relating to Cuba prove also that all the advantages are on the part of the free labor system; since the increase of the free population has been followed by a larger one in the productions of the Island. Now if we compare the relations between those same productions and the slave labor, we find that for the short increase of 18.88 per cent. in the latter, there has been the astounding increase of 133.61 per cent., and 52.41 per cent. in the principal staple productions, sugar and tobacco. And again, taking the census of 1861 and 62, we see that while the white and free colored population have increased, respectively, 1.28 and 0.77, the slave class has diminished 0.09 per cent. ; and this diminution, far from having proved injurious, it has acted most favorably upon the general interests of the colony. And we insist on this fact, so contrary to the extravagant axioms of the pro-slavery economists. We have seen it lately presented as purely the result of industrial progress, as if such a progress, the beneficial influence of which we do not question, were of any consequence by the increase of free labor and the moral advancement of the working classes that it implies.

But, if these figures highly recommend the substitution of free-labor for the barbarous system of Slavery, they also plainly show the horrible results of the latter. Were it not so, how could the slave population appear so disadvantageously by that of the other classes of Cuba, the inexhaustible channels of the slave-trade having been wide open and protected by the Home Government during the same period of time? This fact proves, also, that on this point, as in many others, the barbarous Southern laws have been more favorable to the negro race than the apparently mild Spanish codes.

(7.)

There are, in Cuba, 1,476 white beggars against 851 colored; and in Porto Rico, 853 whites against 672 colored. And let it be understood, that among the latter are comprehended a quite large number of slaves and *coartados*, who, of their own accord, or by command of their masters, resort to this means to provide for their mutual living. A similar fact has been noticed in the Southern States, after the closing of the war, where the negroes are the last who apply for Government rations.

(8.)

The *Fuero Juzgo* thus describes a kidnapper: "He who sells the son or daughter of a free man or a free woman into another country, or takes him or her from his or her home by deception, and carries him or her to another land, although he or she be sold into serfdom by the parents or brothers of said child; whom they can punish or sell at their pleasure." The legislation of *Las Partidas* imposes on the kidnapper, if he is a nobleman, the penalty of hard work for life; and if he is not such, capital punishment; adding, that those who deliver or receive, sell or buy free men, knowing them to be such, with intention of using them as serfs or of selling them, deserve the same penalty.--(Ley 22, tit. 14, part 7.) And again: The Royal Cédula, of 1817, says, that "all the blacks bought on the coast of Africa (after the 30th May, 1820,) shall be declared free in the first sea-port of my dominions, at which the vessel containing them shall arrive; the vessel, together with her remaining cargo, shall be confiscated for my Royal Treasury, and the purchaser, the captain, the master and the pilot shall, without fail, be sentenced to ten years' confinement in some fortress in the Philippine Islands." Afterwards, in 1835, the mother of the present Queen of Spain concluded a new treaty with the King of England, in which it is reiterated; "The Slave-trade is hereby again declared, on the part of Spain, to be henceforward totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world."

The African slave trade is, then, according to the spirit and letter of these ordinances, the most flagrant violation of the law. But Spain, in spite of it, has preferred to make money by fostering the crimes of the slave dealers, rather than to risk an imaginary loss by enforcing the national laws, and doing justice to the negro.

(9.)

The following data bear witness to our assertions :

	Whites.	Free Colored.	Slaves.	Emancipa'd.
Sugar Plantations.....	41,661	3,876	172,671	1,596
Coffee "	5,682	1,817	25,942	72
Farms	21,739	7,232	6,220	24
Stock Farms.....	52,042	7,548	31,514	204
Tobacco Plantations.....	75,058	28,527	17,675	78
County Seats.....	178,185	23,026	24,850	106
Dairy Farms.....	57,713	27,116	6,918	142
Other Plantations.....	7,999	1,507	2,424	117
" Establishments	14,518	3,188	4,175	80
	454,597	103,837	292,389	2,419

We see by the preceding figures that out of the 853,242 farm-hands, the $53\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. is represented by white laborers, the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. by free-colored laborers, and only the $34\frac{1}{4}$ by the slave population. We have also found among the official data, that there are in Cuba 747 white muleteers, 57 founders, 1,329 blacksmiths, 2,994 railroad workingmen, 521 bakers, etc. And we believe that the labor inherent in these situations is by no means less painful and hard than that devolved upon the negroes, whose task is to work on the open fields of sunny Cuba. These facts, and we think they are underrated, are a new testimony against the misstatements of the pro-slavery men who are at the head of the so-called projects for the extinction of slavery in Cuba and Porto Rico. By the way, we must observe, that the low rate of free-colored labor in the plantations, is due not to the reluctance or laziness of the freedmen, but to the government's influence, and to the fears of the planters, which exclude the free colored man from them on the ground that his presence is prejudicial to the order and good management of the plantations.

(10.)

There are in Cuba 300 professors of all classes, and 446 students among the free-colored people, and in Porto Rico 15 professors. 26,780 and 6,522 out of their respective colored population know how to read and write. These figures are not quite discouraging, if it is borne in mind not only that they are underrated, as it is usually done with all data favorable to the colored people, but also the social standing of the colored man in a

country where his race is condemned to perpetual servitude, and his intellectual and moral education fettered and restrained, while that of his oppressors is fostered, as much as this is consistent with our system of government.

Now, with regard to the moral condition of the free and slave colored people existing in Cuba and Porto Rico, the official statistics produces very eloquent data in support of emancipation, viz :

CUBA.*

<i>Slaves.</i>		<i>Free.†</i>	
Single.....	344,769	Single.....	174,139
Married	19,265	Married.....	41,459
Widowers and widows....	4,515	Widowers and widows....	10,370
Marriages	8,472	Marriages.....	18,893

Here are the data corresponding to the year 1862.

BAPTISMS.

<i>Legitimate.</i>		<i>Illegitimate.</i>	
Free.....	4,314	Free.....	3,808
Slaves	1,386	Slaves	7,350

MARRIAGES.

Free.....	618
Slaves .....	...

PORTO RICO.

<i>Slaves.</i>		<i>Free.‡</i>	
Single	41,478	Single	181,526
Married.....	594	Married	48,817
Widowers and widows.....	114	Widowers and widows.....	10,672

Such is also the respect with which colored people regard these moral and religious ties, that it is a general usage in Cuba and Porto Rico to appeal to the god-fathers and god-mothers, or to the *compadres de sacra-*

* These data refer to the movement of the colored population between the years 1846 and 1862.

† We have included in the free colored people 4,521 African *emancipadoes*.

‡ 185 *emancipadoes* are included in the total free colored population.

mento, whenever they want to punish or to intimidate any servant, and most of the time, their admonitions are sufficient to bring the guilty parties to a better conduct. Another very remarkable fact, among Africans rather than among native Cubans, is the institution of *Reinados*, *Cabildos*, and *Cofradias*, which, as it is well known, powerfully aid to outspread and affirm among them habits of economy, order, and religion.

The data above stated are, under no consideration, unfavorable to the principles maintained by the Abolitionist party. Slavery has proved to be, at all times and places, a social leprosy. Concubinage, adultery, and impurity of life, are vices inherent in it. Therefore, it is not surprising to meet their moral ravages amongst certain classes of the population especially when it is borne in mind that those vices are fostered and provoked by the direct example of parties who move in the highest spheres of society.

(11.)

When the English troops invaded the island of Cuba, in 1762, the negroes behaved so well during the siege of Havana, that a large number, of them received from Governor Prado's hands, and in the name of the King, their letters of emancipation, in acknowledgment of their gallantry and good services. And so they did in Florida, Mexico, and South America. In St. Domingo, during the darkest days of the French Revolution, the negroes went to the rescue of the Spaniards; and on this account Jean François, Biassou and Toussaint L'Ouverture obtained high commissions in the Spanish army. And lately, during the present war sustained by the Spaniards against the heroic Dominican patriots, have not the usurpers called the negroes to fight in their defence? Who compose in Cuba the armed body of firemen? And is there any ground of complaint against the members of that institution, most of them being free negroes and mulattoes? Certainly there have been some cases of insurrection in Spanish America, but no one of free colored people against the white defrauders of their enslaved brethren. When the War of Independence broke out, the Spaniards appealed in vain to every kind of inducement in order to kindle a servile war. And if, in previous years, we see the negroes connected with some movements made in the Spanish vice-kingdoms, it is merely as the ignorant tools of their ambitious masters against the power of their monarchs; but at the same time, we find them in the Government ranks, and more than once conquerors of their proud masters. Finally, we have seen in the late North American Rebellion, the brave and loyal negroes, instead of submerging the whole nation into the fearful maelstrom of a servile war, fighting nobly and gallantly

under the Stars and Stripes, and waiting patiently for the hour of their complete redemption. This has always been the conduct of the long abused negroes. What has been in return that of their calumniators for the unequalled examples of sublime abnegation given in Hayti during the revolutionary storm, by hundreds of slaves, who, out of love, and,—oh human inconsequence!—of gratitude, followed their masters to the land of exile, after saving their lives and their valuables (at the example of their great leader L'Ouverture, who sent his former master, with all he could save of his property, to Baltimore,) their so-called christian oppressors paid with selling them again in bondage as soon as they landed in Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, etc. Now again, the Spaniards, after profiting by the valuable services of their negro allies in their late struggle against the Dominican Republic, deny to them the right of asylum in Cuba or Porto Rico, thus leaving them exposed to the just indignation of their outraged countrymen. And, the last but not the least, look at the United States and say if their conduct towards these gallant companions of sufferings and trials throughout all these national life, is the one which fits to the greatest people of the world.

(12.)

The importation of these monsters is one of the many barbarous presents which America owes to Catholic Spain. Since the first days of the conquest they began to distinguish themselves by their bloody proclivities. History records among others *Becerrillo*, which became so valuable to the conquerors of the land that a salary, equal to that of a bow-man, was appointed to him; one of his offspring, called *Leoncillo*, followed the Adelantado Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to Terra Firma, and Fernandez de Oviedo says of him, that he received a portion and sometimes two as any able bodied soldier, and these were paid to said Adelantado in gold and slaves. *Becerrillo* died at one of the Caribbean invasions in the Loiza River, wounded by a poisoned dart. Now-a-days, in Cuba, when the abode, or as it is commonly called a *palenque*, of runaway slaves is discovered, private individuals, or men paid by the planters to discharge that duty, start for the place well armed and accompanied by their bloodhounds, who soon track them and force them to look for a surer shelter; and very often men are torn to pieces by these terrible and unwearied animals. Some packs of these bloodhounds were brought from Cuba to Florida during the Seminole war, to hunt the wretched Indians into whose Territory some slaves had made their escape. The man who employed this atrocious instrument of war was General Zaccharias Taylor, afterward President of the United States.

(13.)

We cannot explain ourselves the ill-feelings of the Spaniards towards the foreigners, especially towards the children of the Saxon race. Perchance, it be the Jewish taint predominant in the Spanish people. We certainly do not know why, but it is a very curious fact, that while they proclaim themselves as belonging to the Latin race, they claim, however, to be taken as direct descendants of the Goths, a northern race, rather than to be called, what in reality they are, the degenerated offspring of Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Goths, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Suevi, Celts, Moors, Negroes, etc. And, it is yet a more curious fact, that in spite of that hatred, the history of Spain presents to us, as her most powerful monarchs, just those who belong to the Saxon race, the House of Hapsburg, and almost all the descendants of English and foreign emigrants, occupying, then and now, the first places of the nation. Stuart, Wall, O'Connor, O'Reilly, Tirry, O'Donnell, Lacy, O'Neill, MacMahon, Butler, Clairac, Magenis, Sarsfield, O'Brien, Walsh, O'Linsh, Camesford, Kindelan, Burk, Clonard, Lemery, O'Daly, Grasses, Van Halen, Drake, O'Gavan, O'Farrill, O'Donohue, Hartzenbusch, MacCrohon, Coppinger, etc., etc. And this being as it is, a fact of public notoriety, is it just to misrepresent in such a slanderous manner the descendants of a race who have saved twice from ruin their (the Spanish) trembling monarchy?

(14.)

A fresh fact will convince the candid how much confidence they ought to put in Spanish declarations. Almost fifty years ago the King of Spain pledged himself to abolish the slave trade from the 30th of May, 1820 forward, in consideration of £400,000 paid by the English Treasury. Facts have already sufficiently proved the bad faith of the Spanish nation; but the impudence has now reached its height through the official declaration of Marshall O'Donnell, the present chief of the Spanish Cabinet. The slave-traders, fearing that some measures will be taken against the *domestic institution*, demanded through the Marquis de Manzanedo, an ex slave trader himself, an explanation from the government upon this subject. O'Donnell's answer is explicit; he said among other generalities: "*That although the Queen was resolutely determined to abolish the slave trade, and to gradually assimilate the political status of the Antilles in a prudent manner to that of the other provinces of the monarchy, THESE OBJECTS WOULD BE ACHIEVED QUIETLY, WITHOUT DETRIMENT TO PRIVATE INTERESTS, and observing due respect to the right of property, and finally, that the Government will not act without the concurrence of the Cortes.*"

Now, this declaration amounts to say, that the slave trade is not yet abolished in Spain according to the sacred pledges of the King Ferdinand VII. and Queen Christina, and consequently, that the Royal Cedula of 1817, as well as the treaties of 1817 and 1835, were merely a sham paper to extort from the English people, under false pretences, the heavy sum of \$2,000,000, paid by England, expressly as an indemnification of those very private interests which Queen Isabella now declares in danger should she strictly and loyally comply with her most sacred obligations. Thus, she announces a gradual abolition of the slave trade, without letting escape a word with regard to the hellish institution.

These proceedings are perfectly accordant with the open expectations of the slave traders, who have sent to Madrid a committee to support, by bribery and intrigue, their interests. But we must maintain, that even in the case of Spain (what we do not expect) adopting a policy tending to the absolute suppression of the slave trade, the Cuban people must not accept that policy as a guaranty against the maintenance and extension of slavery, it being an undeniable fact the astounding increase of slaves in the Southern States through the immoral institution of slave-breeding plantations. And this means, hinted at in some of the projects laid before the public, will certainly be adopted by the greedy human-blood speculators as the only legal and profitable channel to provide for the dreadful wants of their barbarous system of labor, should not the Spanish Government, moved by international reasons, countenance the African colonization system proposed in other of the projects.

(15.)

There are in Cuba 34,043 Chinese, out of which only 24 are females. This barbarous disproportion has greatly contributed to increase the demoralization of the Island. But morals are of no value whatever for the slave traders, on the contrary, they look at it as a hinderance to the production of sugar, coffee and tobacco; therefore, they stick to the old rules in carrying on this new human trade—plenty males, and few or no females at all.

The Chinese' salary is four dollars a month, and their contract is to be in force eight years, and then they have to leave the Island or enter into another eight years' contract, and so on, until they are broken down or of no use to the vampires of the soil. This semi-barbarous by-law has put, as a matter of course, a new means of extortion into the hands of the whites, for whom the most momentous question ever is, how to get along with the labor of the working class existing in Cuba. The Chinese, after they become acquainted with the habits and language of the land, are

naturally reluctant to abandon a country where, by their notorious proclivities for trade and other mechanical pursuits, they can easily earn their own living; and in order to do this they are compelled to look for a man to whom they cheerfully pay four or more dollars a month to make him appear before the Government as their legal patron.

The clothing, eating, labor and treatment of the so-called Chinese colonists are identical to those bestowed upon the slaves. Of course, this proceeding is contrary to the written articles of the contracts, but it serves the demoralizing policy of the Home Government, and, therefore, the Governor-General does not dare to take any measure to put an end to such a system of plunder and barbarism.

(16.)

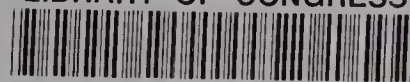
Should England, France, and the United States agree upon this plan, England could demand from Spain the immediate reimbursement of the \$2,000,000 paid to her in 1817, besides all the interest due on them, and, furthermore, all the moneys that Spain has been collecting since 1820 from the emancipado-holders. This amount has been obtained by illegal means, and, consequently, Spain is bound to account for it, so much the more, it being necessary to accomplish an act of justice and humanity towards an afflicted and long oppressed race.

(17.)

We can quote, among other data relating to the first intercourses between the Africans and Portuguese, that during the reign of John II. of Portugal, the King of Congo, a warm favorer of christianity and an active preacher, conversant with the Portuguese language and the Holy Writ, sent his children and grandchildren over to Portugal and had them well taught, both in Latin and Portuguese, at the expense of the Kings of Portugal. Two of his own lineage were Catholic Bishops in his Kingdom. Another King of Congo, had already in previous years, sent, under the charge of Diego Cam, some of the sons of the principal men to be baptized, and requested the King of Portugal to send priests to his dominions. The King of Benin made also the same request by an ambassador sent to Portugal. Later, Lucas Marcos, a priest, visited Rome and Lisbon, as ambassador from the King of Habberch. Bemoin, Prince of Jalof, and twenty-four of his gentlemen, were baptized in Portugal, King John, standing as god-father of the Prince.



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